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616 773 Only one of my informants ever told me a version of the legend of man's creation, attributing the institution of moieties to the culture hero, dyəi'.

> A great number of these people who were first fished for by dyəi' and e'pi were then thrown together helter-skelter, but dyəi' separated his to the east and those of e'pi to the west. [The episode of the institution of clans (see p. 129) follows.] Afterward, he made some marry others.

616 773 881 This version, however, is in accordance with the association of the two culture heroes, as well as the moieties, with the east and west, respectively. For moiety A the position of children and of girls at rites of passage, when prescribed, is always with the face to the east, and the girl's seclusion hut in the puberty ceremony is always placed—at least it was formerly—at the east wall of the house. Moiety B is oriented in the opposite direction. Thus, the men created by dyəi' and e'pi would be those of moieties B and A (*sic*) respectively,[a] but though men of both moieties deal with ta-na'tʃ ("Our Father"), I never found the slightest indication that some consider themselves the descendants of dyəi' and others those of e'pi, the former being always glorified to the disparagement of the latter.

616 881 In the puberty ceremony there are some significant differences between the two moieties. Thus, the turtleshell drum, pɔ:'vi, is used exclusively by clans of moiety A, whereas the stamping tubes, ba:'/ma, and the bamboo horns, kɔ''iri, belong to clans of moiety B. Lately, the stamping tube has been introduced into the ritual of the Japú and Maguary clans of moiety B, a practice which two of my informants held to be an unwarranted innovation.[b]

Exogamy

582 835 609 The tenacity with which the Tukuna respect their laws of exogamy even today, their implacable liquidation of the transgressor, and the complete incomprehension of this by the Neobrazilians, even the priests, are the most serious obstacles to frank promiscuity with the Neobrazilian population, and by preventing such promiscuity they efficiently contribute to the preservation of the tribe. The Tukuna regard the *civilisados*, among whom incest is not uncommon, with a certain contempt, not only because of Indian prejudice but also because the Brazilian law forbids incest, even though they attach no great importance to the law itself. A priest who eventually gives dispensation for the marriage of a man with the daughter of the man's own brother loses the Indians' respect, though a man's marriage with the daughter of his sister is a different matter.

835 773 Incest, vɔ:'mači,[c] includes not only carnal union between individuals of the same moiety, but any disrespect shown the sex of a person in the prohibited degree of kinship, such as a simple, involuntary glance at the genitals. According to legend, the first person guilty of incest was e'pi, brother of the culture hero dyəi'. Desiring to take by force half of a royal hawk that his sister mɔva'ča had concealed between her knees, he touched her genitals. She was immediately transformed into a collared peccary (*taitetú*), but the demon ma/či' of the jaguar race killed her with

[a] There is a discrepancy here. According to the legend given above, dyəi''s people (moiety A) are oriented to the east, e'pi's (moiety B) to the west.—Trans.

[b] Another discrepancy? The ba:'/ma belongs to moiety B but is also a recent introduction.—Trans.

[c] "Confused flesh": vɔ:, a jumble of wood fibers entangled with a cipó or liana; ma'·mači, flesh.

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Marriage and Family Life

582 According to my Tukuna informants, theoretically a girl may marry as soon after the puberty ceremony as she wishes. However, in practice I have never heard of a girl marrying until the hair had grown anew and had been clipped again, while many remain spinsters for some years afterward, if not for their entire [836] lives. Even today sexual intercourse before the puberty ceremony is unimaginable and, according to some, this held formerly for premarital intercourse as well.

836 I have reason to suppose that nowadays the jungle and the silent waters of the igapó, over which the small fishing canoes rapidly glide without leaving any betraying evidence, conceal the secrets of many lovers, whose parents suspect nothing. The Tukuna, however, because of the few barriers to marriage apart from incest rules, vigorously resent any deceit on this score, which may result in very serious conflicts. Parents consider secret relations between a man and their daughter a grave offense; they demand an explanation from the imprudent man [584] who did not respect "their home" and advise him that he had better marry the girl. If he refuses, which almost never happens, his only recourse is flight.

684 Some thirty years ago a certain Marcolino čaitaˊ married the elder of two daughters of one dauraˊñkį. After some time he became enamored of his sister-in-law. If he had asked permission to marry her, dauraˊñkį probably would have given it, but čaitaˊ abandoned his wife and fled with her sister. Accompanied by his brother, dauraˊñkį furiously pursued the pair and overtook them; he slapped them both, bound the girl and threw her into his canoe, and let čaitaˊ go scot free on the beach. As soon as the son-in-law found himself free, he jumped on dauraˊñkį, who killed him with a club during the struggle.

[177] Rape never occurs among the Tukuna, who know of this crime only from the Neobrazilians. When I attempted to get some concrete information on this, those 684 whom I approached merely answered: "If she will not—who may take her?" Cer- 648 tain *civilizados* who assumed that such a crime could be committed with impunity against an Indian woman have come off very badly with the Tukuna. A trader called Joaquim Balieiro arrived in his craft, manned by two civilized paddlers, at the place of an Indian on Lake Cajary, where he found at home only a young boy named Izidoro čëčaˊkakį and his virgin sister. The trader requested permission to pass the night in the house, which was granted. Later on, the three Neobrazilians conceived the plan of getting the boy drunk so as to be able to take advantage of the girl. They gave him plenty of *cachaça*, but let the cat out of the bag prematurely, before he had become sufficiently drunk. Thus čëčaˊkakį understood what was afoot and attacked the three with fury, shooting and killing the trader, while the paddlers barely succeeded in escaping. One of them, whom I knew personally, was gravely wounded. Back among their own kind, they said that čëčaˊkakį had assaulted them with intent of robbery.

Again, in a certain igarapé there dwelt an Indian who had two young daughters; farther upstream lived two rubber gatherers. Going down to their tent on the bank of the Solimões one day, these two found the Indian there. Seeing that he was lingering, the two hurried back, entered his house, deflowered the two girls, and then left in their canoe for their camp. Shortly after, the Indian returned

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and, learning what had happened, called some relatives, scouted out the two rubber gatherers by land, fired at them from the beach, and killed them both.

Courtship and marriage.—A type of marriage preferred by the Tukuna is illustrated in figure 12: A marries the sister of B, while B marries A's sister. Generally, the suitor asks for the girl through her paternal uncle, who also exercises decisive authority in this matter. The initiative never stems directly or indirectly from the girl. In ancient times the parents and uncles arranged the marriage when bride and groom were still children, sometimes only five years old, I was told. After puberty the young people were obliged to carry out the agreement made by the parents and were requested to "get used to each other." Personally, I have never come in contact with an arrangement of this sort.

Some youths who realize their moral or economic unfitness for marriage, or who are afraid of the girl's parents, delay excessively the declaration to her paternal uncle while continuing to boast before their comrades: "She is mine!" Thus they come to excite ridicule and are finally forced by their companions' derision to desist or finally to declare themselves. Perhaps the only intermediary the swain can procure is the girl's father; he, however, always sends the suitor to the girl's uncle, who has the right of veto, since the parents habitually avoid opposition in order not to provide a motive for future discord between the families. It is only afterward that the girl's mother has an understanding with her future son-in-law, seriously advising him to treat her daughter well; otherwise, she will take her back. Meanwhile the request and subsequent declarations are so handled that persons not concerned are never aware of them; any attempt by an outsider to interfere would be considered an affront. If the girl peremptorily refuses to accept the suitor, not even her uncle, notwithstanding that he has given his consent, can force the issue. A curious reason for refusal was given by dɔ'tanɨna when one bere' proposed marriage. She rejected him because he was "too hard a worker." bere' is known as one of the most diligent Indians in the region—a planter of large clearings, an assiduous fisherman, and an able canoewright. dɔ'tanɨna, known as a sluggard, has nothing and does not know how to make anything, lives at her brothers' expense, and with good reason was afraid that, if bere' were her husband, his activities would mean too much work for her.

Apparently, some suitors muster the necessary courage to declare themselves only after imbibing a good quantity of paiauarú at some feast attended by the girl's family. Even so, the business is broached without the other guests' being aware of it, since the youth never publicly announces his request but asks the girl's uncle privately, in some corner where no attention will be attracted. At the close of the party the numerous guests suddenly learn, though with no great surprise, that So-and-so and What's-her-name are already married (*que fulano e sicrana já estão casados*). It is not the custom to give presents either to the bride or to her parents, nor do the latter demand chores from the bridegroom before the wedding.

Polygamy.—It is legitimate for a man to marry more than one woman at the same time, but polygamy is rare. I heard of only one Indian who had three wives, viz., the late Domingos čʊ'nekɨ, who died between 1910 and 1920, last chief at Igarapé de São Jeronymo and a famous shaman. He married three sisters whom

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apart, which is correlated with their lack of social organization other than blood ties. When drunk they quarrel and often cause injuries and death. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians, both parties exhibit their worst qualities. Nevertheless, the *Tucuna* are not unsociable and frequently visit one another and hold festive meetings, when they work collectively for their host. They retain tenaciously their original spiritual culture, although hard work has brought important material improvements. They now have good firearms, tools, clothes, and sewing machines, and they live in financial independence. Some, however, enticed to industrial establishments (rum factories) of the civilized people, become proletarian and then degenerate.

Moieties and clans.—The *Tucuna* are divided into two exogamous, unnamed patrilineal moieties, associated respectively with the east and west. One has 15 unlocalized, patrilineal sibs with tree names; the other has 21 sibs with bird names. Neither the clans nor moieties have outward distinguishing features, except for the private use of certain musical instruments on ceremonial occasions. There is no clear relationship between clan members and their eponym, except that a person's name refers obscurely to certain qualities of the animal or plant, thus revealing his clan. A person is named by his maternal relatives the day after his birth.

The *Tucuna* maintain moiety exogamy with strict inflexibility, and in 1941 still punished violations with death. They regard incest as a sin against the goddess Taé, who punishes it by making one insane during his life and by annihilating his soul after his death.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—After coitus, conception depends on Taé, who gives a soul to children. Abortion and infanticide are practiced, especially when the father is a Neo-Brazilian, as the child would be disqualified for sib and moiety membership. Otherwise, it is believed that infanticide is a sin and that Taé punishes the soul of the perpetrator after death.

Childbirth takes place in a temporary shelter prepared in the bush near the house. The newborn child is immediately painted with genipa. Both parents are confined and diet until the umbilical cord drops off. Children are carried in a woven cotton sling passing over a shoulder. Slings are double in part, so that a child sits in one portion while the other supports its back.

When a child begins to crawl, there is a feast in which it is painted with urucú and covered with bits of parrot feathers while the paint is still sticky. At another feast, formerly celebrated when the child was 2 but now when it is 4, its hair is pulled out and its ears pierced. Contrary to certain authors, this operation does not endanger a child's life. About 8 months later there is a supplementary feast when the hair, having grown again, is trimmed, and the relics of the previous feast are burned.

881 of fermented liquor, the *Thiéboah* fête. On this occasion dancers, with their heads [535] muffled in bags representing human figures, execute a series of figures more or less successful as an attempt at chorographic art.

On awaking in the morning the young girl finds the floor of the hut strewn with ashes. Without this precaution on the part of those who have shorn and beaten her, *Mhohoh* (the devil), at the moment the soles of the girl's feet touched the ground, would not fail to possess himself of her through the new path provided by nature. This formality concludes the ceremony, and, after the customary ablutions, the girl, again free, awaits without impatience the time when, her hair having grown, she is handed over to a husband. As Ticuna girls are marriageable about their tenth year, and two [582] or three years of delay are necessary that their hair may attain a certain length, it would appear that at twelve or thirteen years of age they may be brought under the yoke of Hymen, a classic phrase very applicable to their lot.

304 The male children, like those of the Jews, are circumcised a few days after birth. Female children are subjected about their fifth year, and under pretence of circumcision, to a species of mutilation the object of which is unknown to us, but which, if it had been practised in the Isle of Lesbos, in the time of Sappho, Erinna, Telesilla, Myrtis, and Anyta—other and better names I pass by—would have rendered impossible a certain dialogue of Lucian, and deprived Juvenal of the malignant pleasure of writing his satire, *Lesbides infamem*, &c.

776 At the period when the Ticunas formed a nation under the command of chiefs, instead of being, as now, merely scattered, self-dependent families, they worshipped a [178 god-creator, under the name of *Tupana*;[1] gave thanks to, although abominating, a spirit 619] of evil called *Mhohoh*; and believed that the soul, after the death of the individual, would pass, according to the works during life, either into the body of an intelligent being or into that of an unclean animal. According to their ideas heaven was divided 772 into two spheres, the one superior the other inferior, separated by a transparent vault; 821 in the first the creative spirit Tupana was intrenched; the stars which we see from below are the rays of light from his face, weakened by passing through the intermediate vault and the inferior sphere. Their astronomers admitted the revolution of the earth around the sun, and recognized in this luminary the brother and spouse of the moon. 823 According to them the rivers were the arteries of the terraqueous globe; the streams the veins; and their respective currents were due to the gravitation or simple motion of the planet around the pivotal star or sun.

776 From their systems of theogony and cosmogony the Ticunas have only preserved a 438 profound indifference for Tupana and a dreadful terror of Mhohoh, who from the rank of a spirit of evil, which he long held among them, has now descended to the vulgar condition represented by the attribute of an evil-eye. All the ardour and intelligence of these savages appears to be turned towards a free traffic in articles of toy-ware, gimcracks, and playthings of all kinds, and cotton handkerchiefs of staring colours.

[17] [1] We may remark, in passing, that in the Yahua and Ticuna idioms, as in those of Omagua and Tupinamba, of which we give specimens farther on, the spirit of good is always termed Tupana, whilst the name of the spirit of evil is different in each idiom.